

Lexical Variation among Punjabi Dialects as a Marker of Linguistic Boundaries in Pakistani Punjab

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine lexical variation among five Punjabi dialects (Majhi, Doabi, Saraiki, Potohari and Jangli) to find out how far lexical variation marks the existence of regional boundaries. This study examines ten Punjabi variants, five functional words (kiwain/ kidan/ kaistran ,tohada/ tussan da/ taira, hanji/ ahoo/ han, Jiwain/ jidan/ jaistran, bhawain/ chahay/ bhalay) and five content words (laal/ ratta/ suwa, biwi/ zanani/ sawani, niana/ baal/ bachajatak, chhaiti/ jaldi/ jhabday/ trikh, bohta/ baon/ ghana). The data was collected from 300 middle aged (30 to 50 years old) educated (primary to bachelor) and non-educated male and female respondents of five regions of Pakistani Punjab (Bahawal nager, Lahore, Faisalabad, Khewra and Multan). Chi square test of independence was used to measure the association between linguistic variable and social variable. The study reveals that lexical variation occurs between five specific Punjabi dialects. The respondents show heterogeneity in their linguistic behavior to maintain their identities. Lexical variation differentiates the resident of one region from another region and can mark the existence of regional boundaries.

Keywords: lexical variation, dialects, linguistic behavior, variable, heterogeneous

Introduction

Dialectology, as a systematic discipline, was the main concern of the linguists in the second half of the nineteenth century. Mainly dialectologists are concerned with grammatical, lexical and phonological features that correspond on regional basis. Every language has number of dialects. Dialects are both regional and social; Social dialect or sociolect can mark the social class of the speaker. Similarly, regional dialect can differentiate the resident of one region from those of other regions (Wardhaugh, 2015). Therefore, all speakers have social and regional background (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004). And when they speak, they often identify themselves not only as natives, but also as the member of particular social class, region, age group and ethnicbackground. As Trudgill (2003) explains whenever a speaker speaks he cannot avoid

giving his listener a clue about his origin and his personality. Generally, our accents and speech show where we are from geographically and what sort of social background we have. So language gives the identity to the speakers of the society (Turner, 1999; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).

This fact is of particular interest for this study. Linguistically, Pakistan is heterogeneous. In Pakistan, Urdu is a national language which is widely used in the urban areas of the country. English is used in official capacity and by the social elite. Apart from Urdu and English, Pakistan is also blessed with provincial languages such as Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and Pushto. No language can be said to be the common language of all the people of Pakistan.

According to the census (1998) Punjabi is the widely spoken language of Pakistani Punjab. In Pakistan, Punjabi is influenced by Perso-Arabic sources. In Punjab, Punjabi speaking area consists of Lahore, Sialkot, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Sargodha, Jhelum and Gujarat. Punjabi language is blessed with many dialects such as Majhi, Doabi, Potohari, Jangli, Hindko, Shahpuri, Dhani and Saraiki. The present study aims to examine the lexical variation among five Punjabi regional dialects Majhi, Doabi, Potohari, Jangli and Saraiki, to find out how regional dialects mark the speakers as members of distinct regions. This study also aims to draw geographical boundaries on the bases of lexical difference of these five Punjabi dialects.

Theoretical framework

The much related theoretical work of regional dialects was followed in this study. The Atlas of North American English [ANAE] by Labov, Ash & Boberg (2008) was built on the work of American dialectologists Hans Kurath & Raven Mc David (1939). Similar to the present study, the Atlas of North American English was the study of regional dialects spoken in the urbanized areas of the United States and Canada. The limitation to collect data through telephone technology has been compensated in the present study by personally visiting the urbanized area.

Research methodology

Sample and demographics

The selection of the sample of the appropriate respondents was the first step of data collection. 300 middle aged (age ranged from 30 to 50 years) educated (primary to bachelor) and non-educated male and female respondents participated in the study. Respondents were equally distributed into five groups (60 respondents in each) representing distinct regional dialect identities. All participants were the permanent residents of these specific regions of Punjab (Pakistan): Lahore, Faisalabad, Khewera, Bahawal nager and Multan. These locations were selected because each area represents a distinct regional variety. The representation of respondents is shown in the table below:

Table1. Gender/Education sampling of the respondents

Dialects	Male	Female	Educated	Non educated	Total
Majhi dialect	15	15	15	15	60
Doabi dialect	15	15	15	15	60
Potohari dialect	15	15	15	15	60
Saraiki dialect	15	15	15	15	60
Jangli dialect	15	15	15	15	60
Total	75	75	75	75	300

Nature of the data

The data was collected by means of sociolinguistic interview, as interviews are the most common approach to elicit the vernacular usage of speakers (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). The data was presented to each respondent in the form of questions for instance “tuhaday/ tussanday /tairay gher wich kon kon hunda ay?” and “tuhaday/ tussan day wian wantay woti kaiday rung da joda pandi ay?”

Data analysis

The analysis of lexical variation can be multifaceted. Today science invites us to adopt various methods for eliciting and analyzing data for the study of language variation. Keeping in view the research question the quantitative research methodology has been adopted in this research. The quantitative research is a systematic process in which through numerical data we can obtain information about the world (Burns & Grove, 2005).

Results and discussion

Lexical variation among Punjabi dialects in association with gender

Lexical variation among Punjabi dialects is reflected through the quantitative results as shown in the tables and through the figures below.

Table 2. The score of Punjabi variants laal/ ratta/ suwa which means *red*.

Variants		Majhi dialect		Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect	
		speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age
		(Lahore)		(Faisalabad)		(Khewra)		(Bahawalnager)		(Multan)	
Laal	M	15	100%	15	100%	5	33%	0	Nil	4	26%
	F	15	100%	15	100%	5	33%	0	Nil	6	40%
Ratta	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	10	66%	12	80%	11	73%
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	10	66%	8	53%	9	60%
Suwa	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	3	20%	0	Nil
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	7	46%	0	Nil

The table 2 shows the results of the use of the *variants laal, ratta and suwa*. The result reveals that the respondents from different dialects use distinct variants which indicate the lexical variation between dialects. The results also reveal that female respondents from all dialect tend to use standard linguistic forms in their conversation. Sig value is 0.00 which is less than 0.05, indicates that there is significant relationship between the two variables. Results are presented in the map below.

The Geographical distribution of the variants Laal/Ratta/Suwa

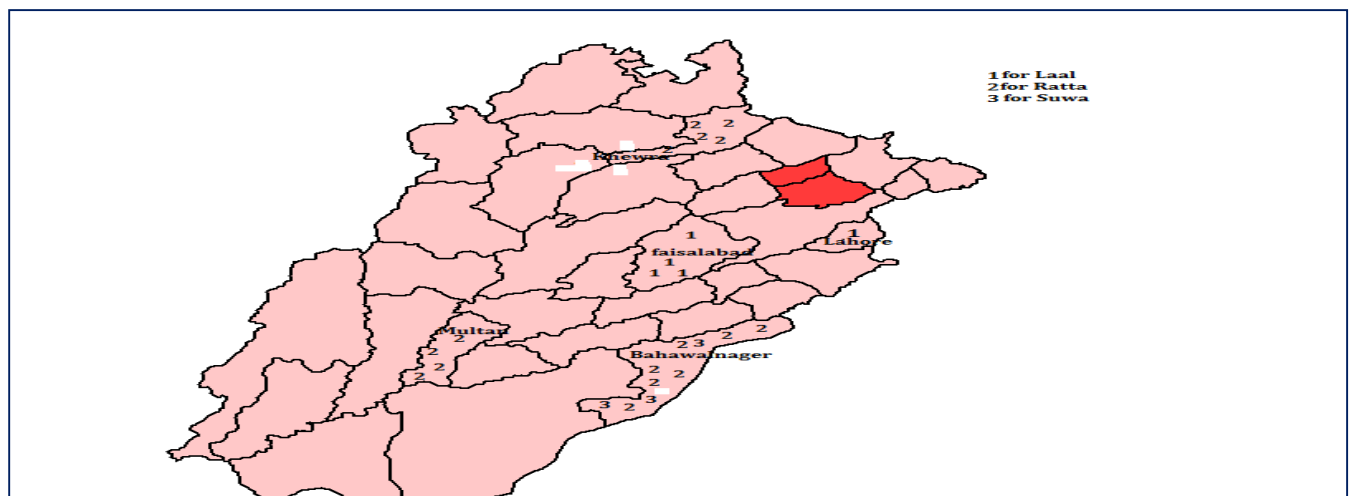


Figure 1. The lexical isogloss for variants Laal/Ratta/Suwa in Punjab

The lexical isogloss in map 1 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Laal/ratta/suwa* in five regions Multan, Bahawalnager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *laal*, 2 represents *ratta* and 3 represents variants *uwa*. The clear picture of the variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Most of the People use variant 1 in Lahore and Faisalabad which is due to neighboring dialects. People from khewra use variant 2 while in

Bahawalnager people use variant 3 but some people also use variant 2. While in Multan people use only one variant which is variant 2.

Table 3. The score of Punjabi variant *Zanani/Zall/Biwi* which means *wife*

Variants		Majhi dialect speakers		Doabi dialect speakers		Potohari dialect speakers		Jangli dialect speakers		Saraiki dialect speakers	
		%age		%age		%age		%age		%age	
		(Lahore)		(Faisalabad)		(Khwera)		(Bahawa Inager)		(Multan)	
Zana ni	M	0	Nil	3	20%	10	66%	15	100%	0	Nil
	F	0	Nil	2	13%	10	66%	15	100%	0	Nil
Zall	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
Biwi	M	15	100%	12	80%	5	33%	0	Nil	0	Nil
	F	15	100%	13	86%	5	33%	0	Nil	0	Nil

This table 3 shows the result of the use of the variants *zanani*, *Zall* and *biwi*. In Majhi people use variant *Biwi* and in Doabi dialect most of the people use variant *Biwi* but some people use variant *Zanani*. The respondents of Potohari dialect use variant *Zanani*. In the same manner variant *biwi* is not used by Jangli and Saraiki dialect. Saraiki use only variant *Zall*. The higher and lower rate of these variants articulation reveals lexical variation among these dialects. The results also show that female respondents of all dialects tend to use standard forms as compared to male respondents. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variants *Biwi/Zanani/Zall*

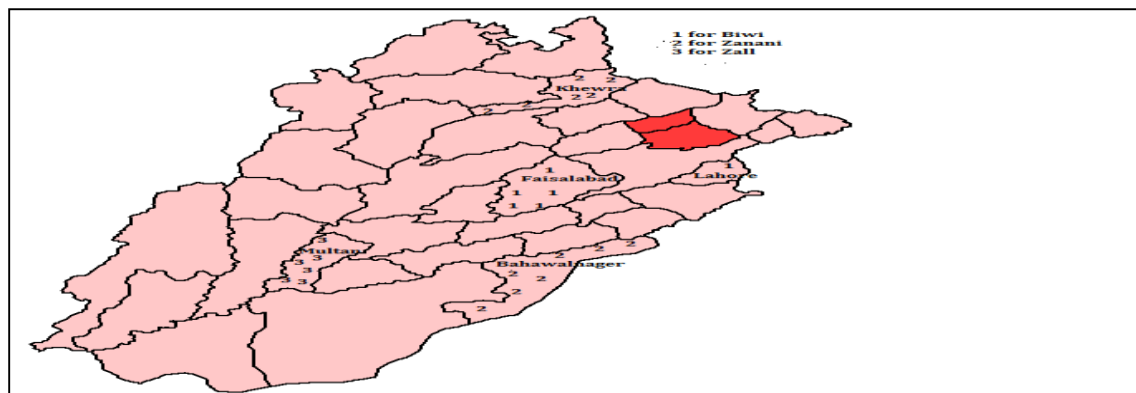


Figure 2. The lexical isogloss for variants *Biwi/Zanani/Zall*

The lexical isogloss in map 2 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Biwi/zanani/Zall* in five regions Multan, Bahawalnager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *biwi*, 2 represents *zanani* and 3 represents variant *Zall*. The clear picture of the variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore and Faisalabad which is due to neighboring dialects. People from khewra and Bahawalnager use variant 2 While in Multan people use only variant 3 *Zall*.

Table 4. The score of Punjabi variant Nianay/Baal/Bachay/jatak which means *child*

variants		Majhi dialect speakers (Lahore)		Doabi dialect speakers (Faisalabad)		Potohari dialect speakers (Khewra)		Jangli dialect speakers (Bahawa lnager)		Saraiki dialect speakers (Multan)	
		speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age
Nianay	M	5	33%	10	66%	0	Nil	8	53%	0	Nil
	F	5	33%	5	33%	0	Nil	12	80%	0	Nil
Baal	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	3	20%	7	46%	15	100%
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	7	46%	3	20%	15	100%
Jatak	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	12	80%	0	Nil	0	Nil
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	8	53%	0	Nil	0	Nil
Bachay	M	10	66%	5	33%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
	F	10	66%	10	66%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil

The results in this table indicate that respondents of Majhi dialect are more likely to use variant *bachay* as compared to variant *baal*, *niana* and *Jatak*. Similarly the variant *Jatak* is not used by any respondent of Doabi, Majhi, Jangli and Saraiki dialects. In Potohari dialect respondents tend to use variant *Jatak* as compared to *nianay*, and *Bachay*. In Saraiki dialect respondents use only variant *Baal*. The results show the clear lexical variation among these five dialects. The result is significant assuming the p value < 0.05. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variants Nianay/Baal/Bachay/Jatak

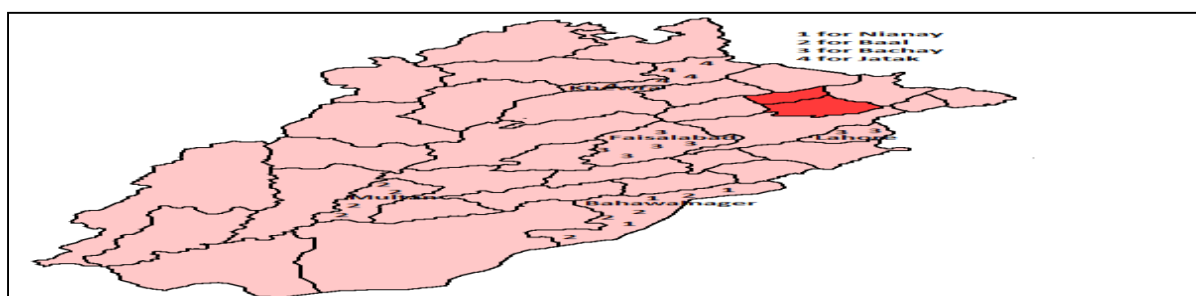


Figure 3. The lexical isogloss of the variants Baal/Bachay/Nianay/Jatak

The lexical isogloss in map.3 shows variation of four Punjabi variants *Baal/bachay/nianay/jatak* in five regions Multan, Bahawalnager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Nianay*, 2 represents *Baal*, 3 represents variant *Bachay* and no 4 represents variant *Jatak*. The clear picture of the variation among these four variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 3 in Lahore and Faisalabad which is due to neighboring dialects. People from khewra use variant 4 while in Bahawalnager most of the people use variant 1 and 2. In Multan people use variant 2 *baal*.

Table 5. The score of Punjabi variant Kiwain/ Kidan/ Kaistra which means *how*

variants		Majhi dialect		Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect	
		speakers (Lahore)	%age	speaker (Faisalabad	%age	speakers (Khewra)	%age	speakers (Bahawa Inager)	%age	speakers (Multan)	%age
Kewain	M	8	53%	0	Nil	15	100%	10	66%	15	100%
	F	12	80%	0	Nil	15	100%	10	66%	15	100%
Kidan	M	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
	F	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
Kaistra	M	7	46%	0	Nil	0	Nil	5	33%	0	Nil
	F	3	20%	0	Nil	0	Nil	5	33%	0	Nil

The results of this table reveal that variant *kiwain* and *Kaistra* is mostly used by male and female respondents of Majhi and Potohari dialects as compared to variant *Kidan*. While in Doabi dialect the respondents only use variant *Kidan*. InJangli and Saraiki dialect respondents use only variant *Kiwain*. So through these results lexical variation among these five Punjabi dialects can be observed. Sig value is 0.00 which is less than 0.05 indicating that there is significant relationship between the two variables. Results are presented in the map below.

The geographical representation of variants Kiwain/Kidan/Kaistra

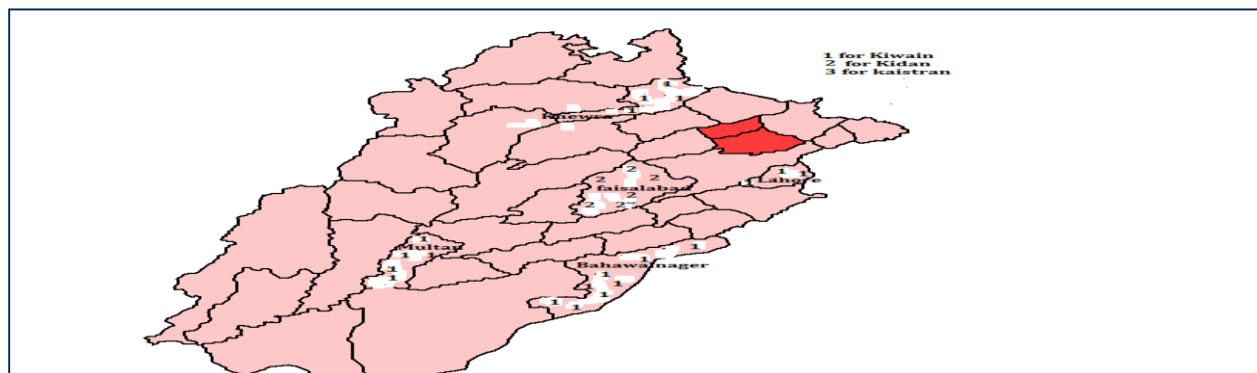


Figure 4 The lexical isogloss for variants Kiwain/ Kidan/ Kistran

The lexical isogloss in map 4 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Kiwain/ kidan/ kaistra* in five regions Multan, Bahawal nager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Kiwain*, 2 represents *Kidan* and 3 represents variant *Kaistra*. The clear picture of the variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore and variant 2 is extensively spoken in Faisalabad. In Khewra, Bahawal nager and Multan mostly People use variant 1.

Table 6. The score of Punjabi variant Chhaiti/ Jhabday/ Jaldi/ Trikh which means *quickly*

variants		Majhi dialect speakers (Lahore)		Doabi dialect speaker (Faisalabad)		Potohari dialect speakers (Khewra)		Jangli dialect speakers (Bahawa Inager)		Saraiki dialect speakers (Multan)	
			%age		%age		%age		%age		%age
Chhaiti	M	10	66%	10	66%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
	F	10	66%	10	66%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
Jhabday	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
Jaldi	M	5	33%	5	33%	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
	F	5	33%	5	33%	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
Trikh	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil

The results show that in Majhi dialect, mostly respondents use variant *chhaiti* and *Jaldi*. While the variant *Trikh* is not used by any respondents. In Doabi dialect respondents use variant *chhaiti* and the variants *Jaldi* and *Trikh* are not used by any respondent. The respondents of Potohari dialect only use variant *Trikh*. While in Saraiki dialect respondents use variants *Jaldi*. So the results reveal the lexical variation among these dialects. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variants Chhaiti/Jhabday/Jaldi/Trikh

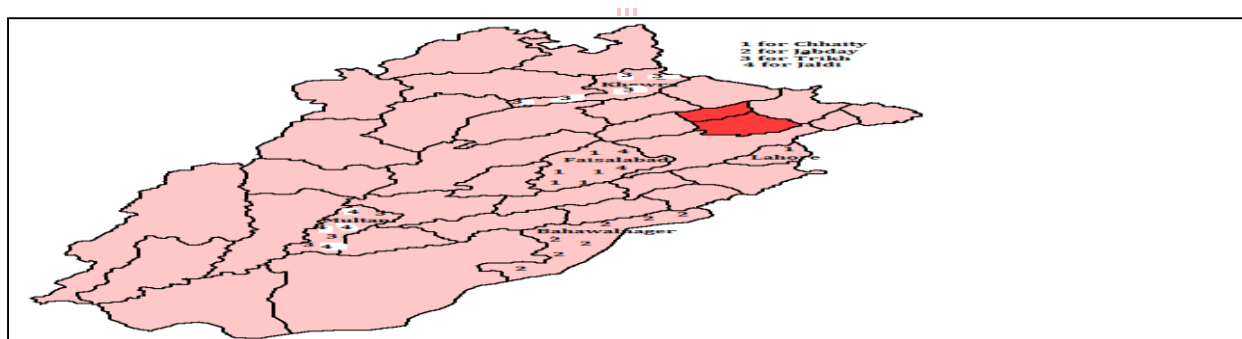


Figure 5. The lexical isogloss for variants Chaiti/Jhabday/Jaldi/Trikh

The lexical isogloss in map 5 shows variation of four Punjabi variants *Chhati/Jabday/jaldi/trikh* in five regions Multan, Bahawalnager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Chhaiti*, 2 represents *Jhabday*, 3 represents variant *Trikh* and no 4 represents variant *Jaldi*. The clear picture of the variation among these four variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore and Faisalabad which is due to neighboring dialects. People from khewra use variant 3 while in Bahawalnager mostly people use variant 2. in Multan people use variant 4 and some people use variant *trikh*.

Table 7. The score of Punjabi variant Tohada/Tussan da/Taira which means *yours*

variants		Majhi dialect		Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect	
		speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age
		(Lahore)		(Faisalabad		(Khwera)		(Bahawa Inager		(Multan)	
Tohada	M	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	66%
	F	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	66%
Tussan da	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	33%
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	33%
Taira	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil

The results show the use of variants Tohada, tussan *da* and Tera. Results show the distinct use of variants as variant *Tohada* is used by respondents of Majhi and Doabi dialect as compared to *Tussan da*. In Potohari dialect mostly respondents use variant *Tussan da*. They don't use any other variant except variant *Tussan da*. In jangli dialect respondents use *Taira* while in Saraiki dialect most of the respondents use variant *Tohada*. There is significance between linguistic and social variables as $p < 0.05$. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variant Tohada/Taira/Tussan da

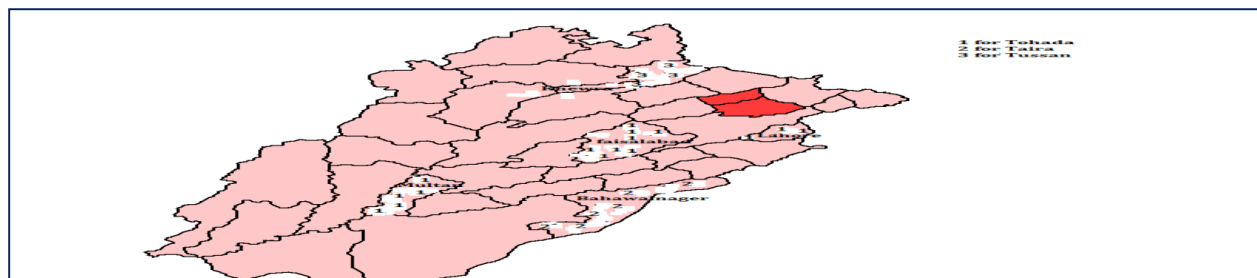


Figure 6. The lexical isogloss for the variants Tohada/Taira/Tussan da

The lexical isogloss in map 6 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Tohada/tusan/taira* in five regions Multan, Bahawalnager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Tohada*, 2 represents *Taira* and 3 represents variant *tussan da*. The clear picture of the variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Most of the People use variant 1 in Lahore, Faisalabad and Multa. In Khewra People use variant 3. While people of Bahawalnager use variant 2.

Table 8. The score of Punjabi variant Bohta/Baon/Ghana which means *many/much*

variants		Majhi dialect speakers %age		Doabi dialect speakers %age		Potohari dialect speakers %age		Jangli dialect speakers %age		Saraiki dialect speakers %age	
		(Lahore)		(Faisalabad		(Khewra		(Bahawa Inager		(Multan)	
Bohta	M	15	100%	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
	F	15	100%	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
Ghanna	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
Baon	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%

The results of this table show the use of variants *Bohat*, *Ghana* and *Baon*. The respondents from Majhi dialect only use variant *Boht*. They do not use variant *Ghanna* and *Baon* in their conversation. The respondents from Doabi and Potohari dialects also use *Boht*. While respondents of Saraiki dialect do not use these variants they use only variant *baon*. The respondents from Jangli dialect use variant *Ghanna*. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$. The results are presented in the map below

The geographical distribution of variants Bohta/Ghana/Baon

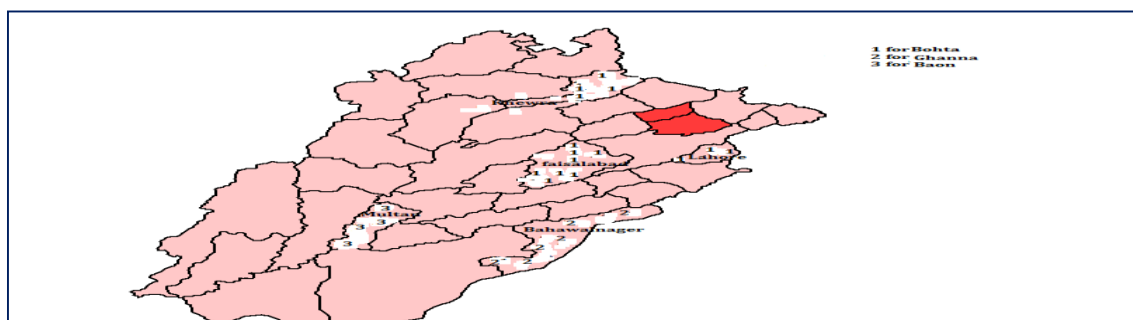


Figure 7. The lexical isogloss of variants Bohta/Ghanna/Baon

The lexical isogloss in map 7 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Boht/Ghana/baon* in five regions Multan, Bahawalnager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Boht*, 2 represents *Ghana* and 3 represents variant *Baon*. The variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Most of the People use variant 1 in Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra. In Multan most of the People use variant 3. While in Bahawalnager people use variant 2.

Table 9. The score of Punjabi variant Hanji/ AAhoo/ Han which means *yes*

variants		Majhi dialect		Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect	
		speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age
		(Lahore)		(Faisalabad		(Khewra)		(Bahawa Inager		(Multan)	
Hanji	M	10	66%	3	20%	15	100%	0	Nil	15	100%
	F	12	80%	7	46%	15	100%	0	Nil	15	100%
Aahoo	M	5	33%	12	80%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
	F	3	20%	8	53%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
Han	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil

The results show that respondents of Majhi dialect use variant *Hanji* and *Aahoo* both. While in Doabi dialect respondents use variant *Aahoo* but to some extent they use variant *Hanji*. instead of any other variant. In Potohari dialect respondents do not use variant *Aahoo*. They use only variant *Hanji*. The respondents from Jangli dialect mostly use *Han*. The respondents of Saraiki dialect use variant *Hanji*. The result is significant assuming the sig value 0.00 which is less than 0.05. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical representation of variants Aahoo/ Hanji/ Han

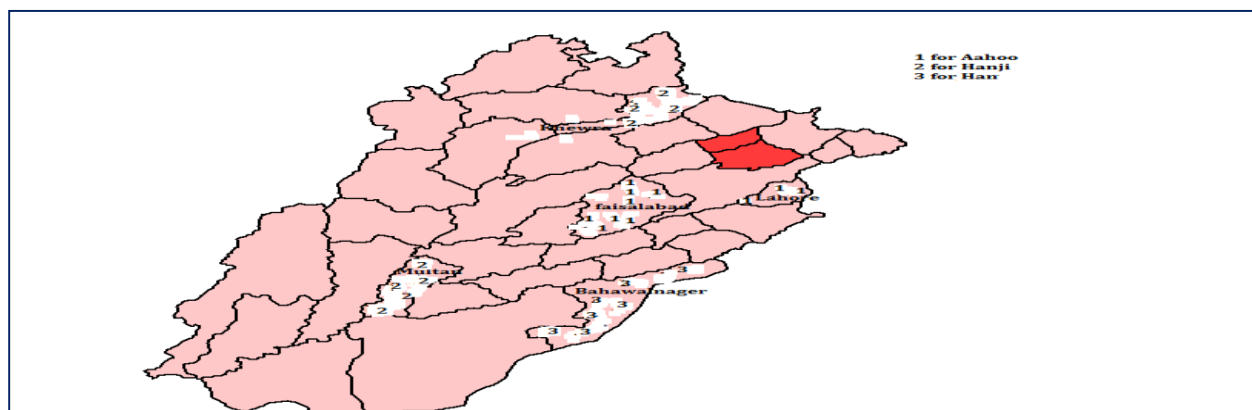


Figure 8. The lexical Isogloss of variants Aahoo/Hangi/Han

The lexical isogloss in map 4.8 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Aaho/Hanji/han* in five regions Multan, Bahawalnager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Aahoo*, 2 represents *Hanji* and 3 represents variant *Han*. The variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore and Faisalabad. In Khewra and Multan variant 2 is extensively used. In Bahawalnager mostly People use variant 3.

Table 10. The score of Punjabi variant Jiwin/Jidan/Jaistra which means *like*

variants		Majhi dialect		Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect	
		speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age	speakers	%age
		(Lahore)		(Faisalabad		(Khewra)		(Bahawa Inager		(Multan)	
Jiwin	M	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	15	100%
	F	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	15	100%
Jidan	M	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
	F	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
Jaistra	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil

The results show the use of variants *Jiwin*, *Jidan* and *Jaistra*. The results reveal that respondents from Majhi dialect use variant *Jiwin* while respondents from Doabi dialect use variant *Jidan*. Similarly the respondents from Potohari dialect use variant *Jaistran* and Saraiki dialect use variant *Jiwin* in their daily routine conversation while the respondents from *Jangli* dialect mostly use variant *Jiwin*. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical destribution of variants Jiwin/Jidan/Jaistra

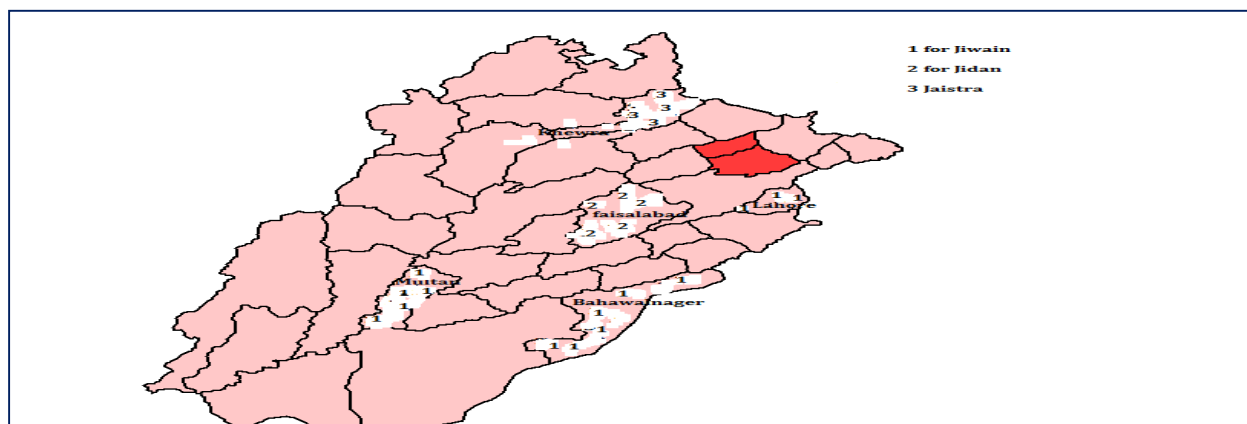


Figure 9. The lexical isogloss for the variants Jiwin/ Jidan/ Jaistra

The lexical isogloss in map 9 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Jiwain/ Jidan/ Jaistra* in five regions Multan, Bahawal nager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Jiwain*, 2 represents *Jidan* and 3 represents variant *Jaistra*. The variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore, Bahawal nager and Multan. In Khewra variant 3, while in Faisalabad variant 2 is used by the permanent residents.

Table 11. The score of Punjabi variant Bhawain/ Chahay/ Bhalay which means *whether*

variants		Majhi dialect		Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect	
		speakers (Lahore)	%age	speakers (Faisalabad)	%age	speakers (Khewra)	%age	speakers (Bahawa Inager)	%age	speakers (Multan)	%age
Bhawain	M	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
	F	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
Chahay	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
Bhalay	M	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
	F	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%

This table shows the results of the use of three distinct variants in five specific dialects. Results reveal that respondents of Majhi dialect use variant Bhawain. The respondents from Doabi dialect only use variant Bhawain while in Potohari dialect respondents use both variants Chahay. Respondents from jangli dialect only use variant Bhawain and in Saraiki dialect respondents do not use variant Bhawain and Chahay, they only use variant Bhalay in their daily routine conversation. The results show a clear variation in the choice of variants in five Punjabi dialects. There is a slight difference between male and female in the choice of variants. Women are conscious about their conversation and they tend to use standard linguistic forms even in their daily routine conversation. The result is significant assuming $p < 0.05$. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical destribution of variants Bhawain/ Chahay/ Bhalay

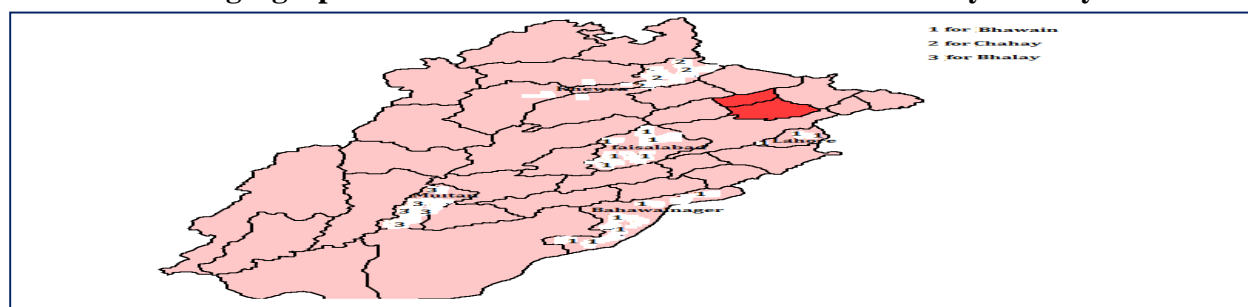


Figure 10. The lexical isogloss of variants Bhawain/ Chahay/ Bhalay

The lexical isogloss in map 10 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Bhawain/ Chahay/ Bhalay* in five regions Multan, Bahawal nager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Bhawain*, 2 represents *Chahay* and 3 represents variant *Bhalay*. The variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore, Bahawal nager and Faisalabad. In Khewra variant 2, while in Multan variant 3 is used by the permanent residents.

Lexical variation among Punjabi dialects in association with education

Table 12. The score of Punjabi variants laal/ratta/suwa which means *red*.

variants		Majhi dialect speakers		Doabi dialect speakers		Potohari dialect speakers		Jangli dialect speakers		Saraiki dialect speakers	
		%age		%age		%age		%age		%age	
		(Lahore)		(Faisalabad)		(Khewra)		(Bahawalnager)		(Multan)	
Laal	E	15	100%	15	100%	8	53%	0	Nil	6	40%
	N	15	100%	15	100%	2	13%	0	Nil	4	26%
Ratta	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	7	46%	10	66%	9	60%
	N	0	33%	0	Nil	13	86%	10	66%	11	73%
Suwa	E	0	33%	0	Nil	0	Nil	5	33%	0	Nil
	N	0	33%	0	Nil	0	Nil	5	33%	0	Nil

The results of the Punjabi variants *Laal/ ratta/ suwa* in association with education reveal that respondents from Majhi dialect only use variant *laal* either they are educated or non-educated similarly in Doabi dialect mostly educated respondents use variant *Laal*. Results also reveal that in Potohari dialect mostly educated and non-educated respondents use variant *Ratta* in their conversation. Similarly in Jangli dialect respondents tend to use variant *ratta* and *suwa* instead of variant *laal*. In Saraiki dialect most of the educated and non-educated respondents use variant *ratta* in their conversation and they are not even aware the variant *Suwa*. So sig value is 0.00 which is less than 0.05 indicating that there is significant association between linguistic variable and social variable. The results are in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variant Laal/Ratta/Suwa

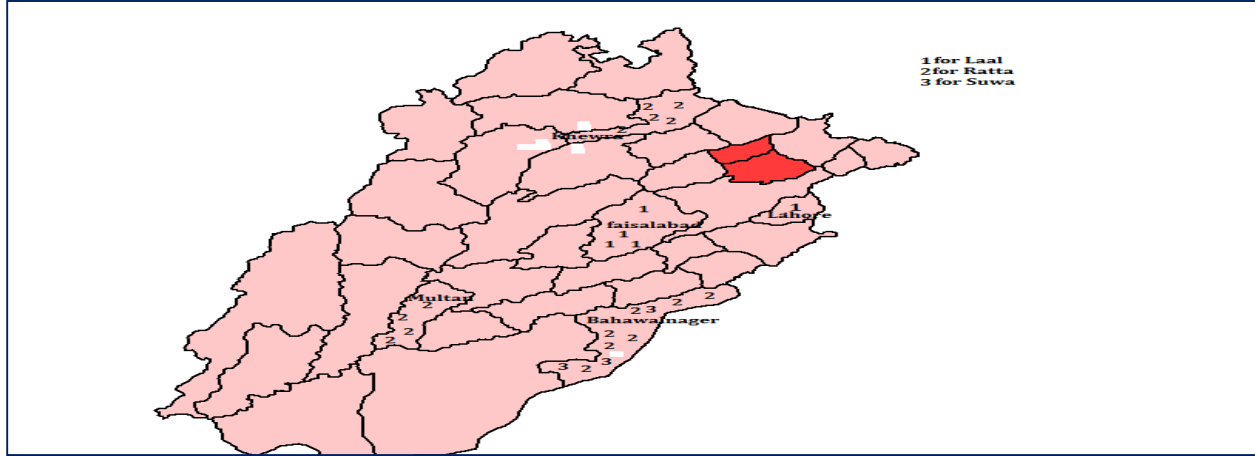


Figure 12. The lexical isogloss for variants Laal/ Ratta/ Suwa in Punjab

The lexical isogloss in map 4.11 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Laal/ Ratta/ Suwa* in association with education, in five regions Multan, Bahawal nager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Laal*, 2 represents *Ratta* and 3 represents variant *Suwa*. The clear picture of the variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore and Faisalabad which is due to neighboring dialects. People from khewra use variant 2 while in Bahawal nager mostly people use variant 3 but some people also use variant 2, who are not the permanent residents of this region. While in Multan people use only one variant which is variant 2.

Table 13. The score of Punjabi variant Zanani/Zall/Biwi which means *wife*

Variants	Majhi dialect		Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect		
	speakers (Lahore)	%age	speakers (Faisalabad)	%age	speakers (Khwera)	%age	speakers (Bahawalnager)	%age	speaker (Multan)	%age	
Zanani	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	11	73%	15	100%	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	14	93%	15	100%	0	Nil
Zall	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
Biwi	E	15	100%	15	100%	4	26%	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	15	100%	15	100%	1	16%	0	Nil	0	Nil

Results reveal that in Majhi dialect educated and non-educated respondents use variant *Biwi*. In Doabi dialect mostly educated respondents use variant *Biwi*. In Potohari dialect educated and

non-educated respondents use variant *Zanani* but some educated respondents use variant *Biwi*. In Saraiki dialect most of the respondents use variant *Zall* and in Jangli dialect respondents use variant *Zanani* in their conversation. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variants Biwi/zanani/Zall/

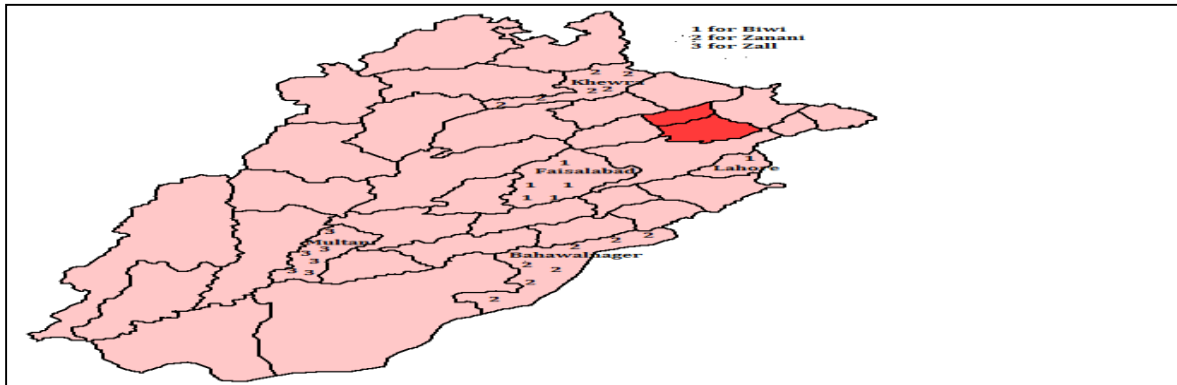


Figure 12. The lexical isogloss for variants Biwi/Zanani/Zall

The lexical isogloss in map 4.12 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Biwi/ zanani/ Zall* in association with education, in five regions Multan, Bahawal nager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *biwi*, 2 represents *zanani* and 3 represents variant *Zall*. The clear picture of the variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore and Faisalabad which is due to neighboring dialects. People from khewra and Bahawal nager use variant 2 While in Multan people use only variant 3 *Zall*.

Table 14. The score of Punjabi variant Nianay/ Baal/ Bachay/ jatak which means *child*

variants		Majhi dialect speakers (Lahore)		Doabi dialect speakers (Faisalabad)		Potohari dialect speakers (Khwera)		Jangli dialect speakers (Bahawalnager)		Saraiki dialect speakers (Multan)	
		%age		%age		%age		%age		%age	
Nianay	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	12	80%	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	13	86%	0	Nil
Baal	E	0	Nil	0	33%	0	Nil	3	20%	15	100%
	N	0	Nil	0	66%	0	33%	2	13%	15	100%
Jatak	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
Bachay	E	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil

The results reveal that in Majhi dialect most of the educated Punjabi speaking respondents use variant *Bachay*. In Doabi dialect educated and non-educated respondents use *Bachay*. In Potohari dialect respondents use variant *Jatak* instead of any other variant. In Jangli dialect respondents use variant *Nianay* and *Baal* but in Saraiki dialect respondents only use variant *Baal*. Sig value is 0.00 which is less than 0.05 indicating that there is significant association between the two variables. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variants Nianay/Baal/Bachay/Jatak

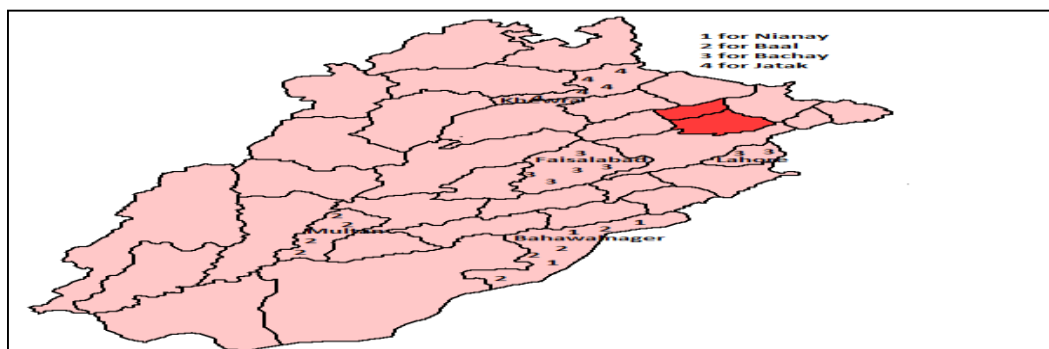


Figure 13. The lexical isogloss of the variants Baal/Bachay/Nianay/Jatak

The lexical isogloss in map 4.13 shows variation of four Punjabi variants *Baal/ bachay/ nianay /jatak* in five regions Multan, Bahawal nager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Nianay*, 2 represents *Baal*, 3 represents variant *Bachay* and no 4 represents variant *Jatak*. The clear picture of the variation among these four variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 3 in Lahore and Faisalabad which is due to neighboring dialects. People from khewra use variant 4 while in Bahawal nager most of people use variant 2 and 1. In Multan people use variant 2 *baal*.

Table 15. The score of Punjabi variant Kiwain/Kidan/Kaistra which means *how*

variants		Majhi dialect		Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect	
		speakers (Lahore)	%age	speakers (Faisalabad)	%age	speakers (Khewra)	%age	speakers (Bahawalnager)	%age	speakers (Multan)	%age
Kewain	E	15	100%	0	Nil	15	100%	15	100%	15	100%
	N	15	100%	0	Nil	15	100%	15	100%	15	100%
Kidan	E	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
Kaistra	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil

The results show that in Majhi dialect mostly respondents use variant *Kiwain*. In Doabi dialect respondents only use variant *Kidan* while in Potohari dialect respondents only use variant *Kiwain*. They don't use any other variant. In jangli and Saraiki dialect respondents only use variant *Kiwain*. So respondents from different dialects use different variants for same word in their dialects. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$ results are presented in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variants *Kiwain/ Kidan/ Kaistra*

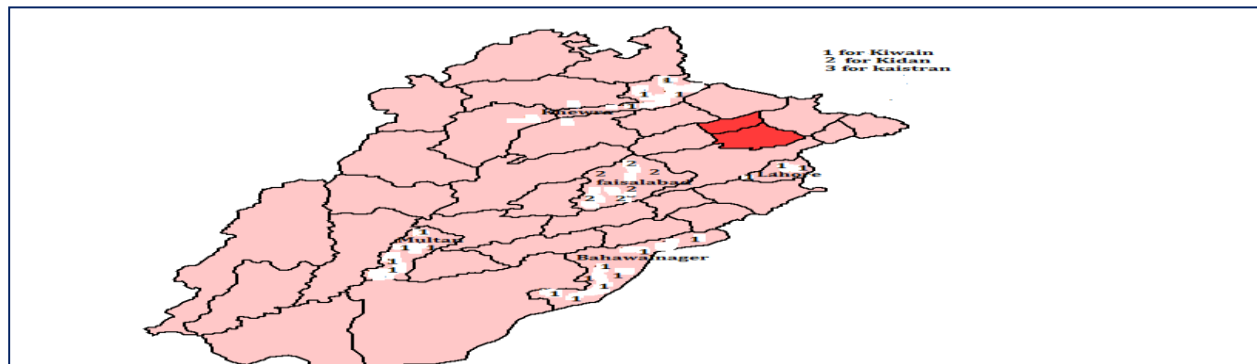


Figure 14. The lexical isogloss for variants *Kiwain/Kidan/Kistran*

The lexical isogloss in map 4.14 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Kiwain/ kidan/ kaistra* in association with education, in five regions Multan, Bahawal nager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Kiwain*, 2 represents *Kidan* and 3 represents variant *Kaistra*. The clear picture of the variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore and variant 2 is extensively spoken in Faisalabad. In Khewra, Bahawal nager and Multan most of the People use variant 1.

Table 16. The score of Punjabi variant chhaiti/ Jhabday/ Jaldi/ Trikh which means *quick*

variants		Majhi dialect		Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect	
		speakers (Lahore)	%age	speaker (Faisalabad	%age	speakers (Khewra)	%age	speakers (Bahawa Inager	%age	speakers (Multan)	%age
Chhaiti	E	9	60%	10	66%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	11	73%	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
Jhabday	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
Jaldi	E	6	40%	5	33%	0	33%	0	Nil	15	100%
	N	4	26%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
Trikh	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil

The results of this table reveal that in Majhi and Doabi dialects respondents use variant *Chhaiti* and *Jaldi* while in Potohari dialect respondents only use variant *Trikh* in their conversation. In Jangli dialect respondents use *Jhabday* while in Saraiki dialect respondents only use variant *jaldi* in their daily routine conversation. Results indicate that respondents are specific in the use of these variants according to their regions they use distinct variants. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$. There is association between the linguistic and social variables. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variants Chhaiti/Jhabday/Jaldi/Trikh

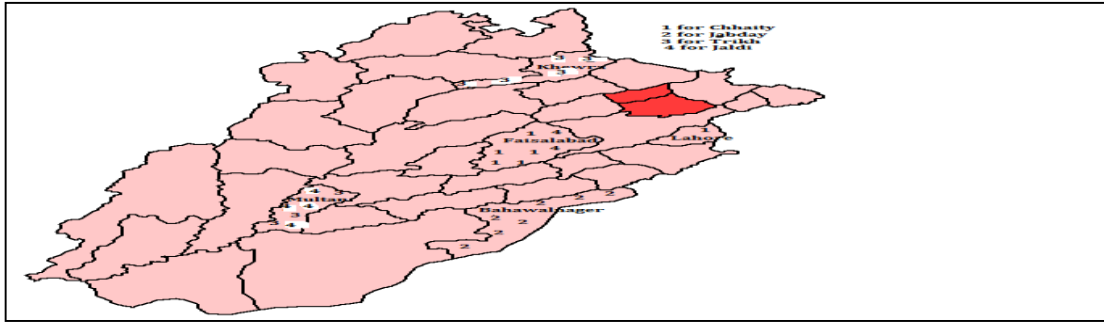


Figure 15. The lexical isogloss for variants Chhaiti/ Jhabday/ Jaldi/ Trikh

The lexical isogloss in map 15 shows variation of four Punjabi variants *Chhaiti/Jhabday/jaldi/trikh* in five regions Multan, Bahawalnager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Chhaiti*, 2 represents *Jhabday*, 3 represents variant *Trikh* and no 4 represents variant *Jaldi*. The clear picture of the variation among these four variants can be seen in this map. Most of the People use variant 1 in Lahore and Faisalabad which is due to neighboring dialects. People from khewra use variant 3 while in Bahawalnager most of the people use variant 2. In Multan people use variant 4.

Table 17. The score of Punjabi variant Tohada/Tussan da/Taira which means *yours*

variants	Majhi dialect			Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect	
	speakers (Lahore)	%age		speakers (Faisalabad)	%age	speakers (Khwera)	%age	speakers (Bahawa Inager)	%age	speakers (Multan)	%age
Tohada	E	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
	N	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
Tussan da	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
Taira	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil

The results reveal that respondents from Majhi dialect use variant *Tohada*. Similarly in Doabi dialect respondents use *Tohada*. In Potohari dialect respondents use variant *Tussan da*. In Jangli dialect respondents only use *Taira*. In Saraiki dialect respondents only use *Tohada*. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$ the results are presented in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variants Tohada/Taira/Tussan da

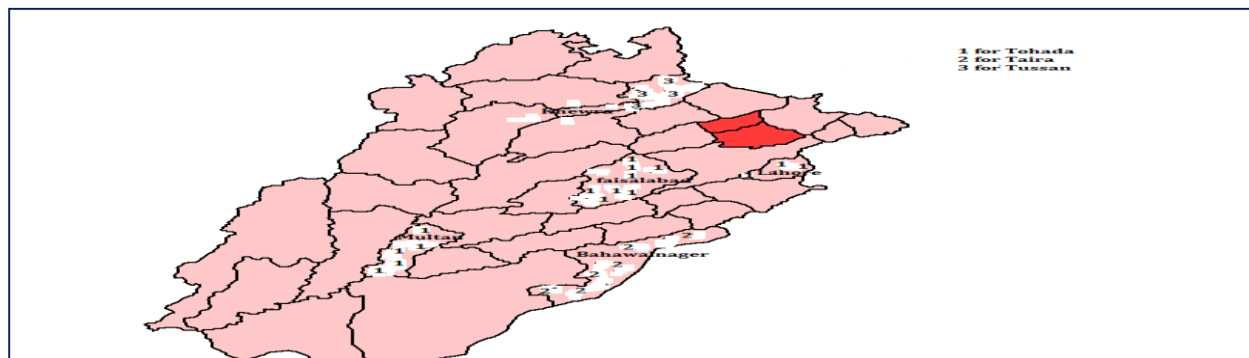


Figure 16. The lexical isogloss for the variants Tohada/ Taira/ Tussan da

The lexical isogloss in map 16 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Tohada/tusan da/taira* in five regions Multan, Bahawalnager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Tohada*, 2 represents *Taira* and 3 represents variant *tussan da*. The clear picture of the variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Most of the People use variant 1 in Lahore, Faisalabad and Multa. In Khewra most of the People use variant 3. While people of Bahawalnager use variant 2.

Table 18. The score of Punjabi variant Bohta/ Baon/ Ghanna which means *many/ much*

variants		Majhi dialect		Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect	
		speakers (Lahore)	%age	speaker (Faisalabad	%age	speakers (Khewra	%age	speakers (Bahawa Inager	%age	speakers (Multan)	%age
Bohta	E	15	100%	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	15	100%	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
Baon	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
Ghanna	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil

The results reveal that in Majhi and Doabi dialects mostly respondents use variant *Bohta* either they are educated or non-educated. In Potohari dialect educated and non-educated respondents use variant *Bohta* in their conversation. In Jangli dialect respondents mostly use Ghanna.

Respondents from Saraiki dialect only use one variant *Baon*. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$. so there is significant association between the two variables. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variants Bhota/Ghanna/Baon

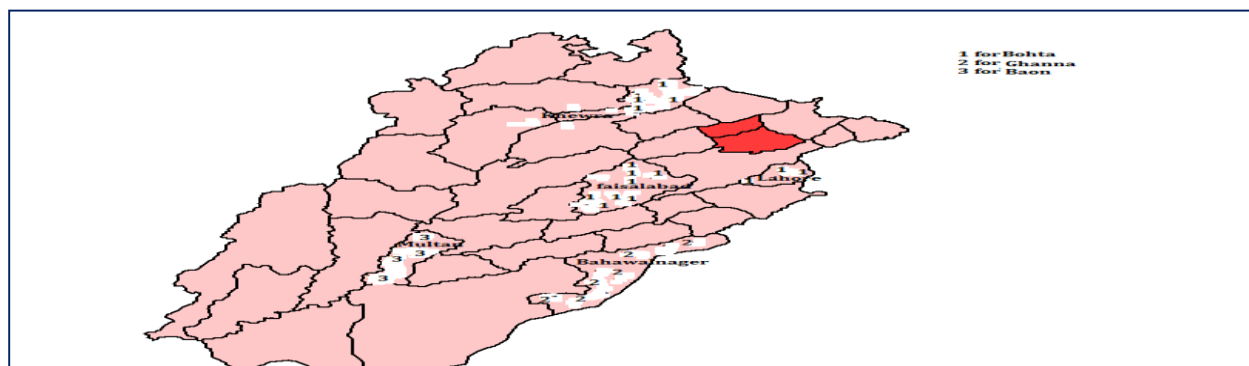


Figure 17. The lexical isogloss of variants Bohta/Ghanna/Baon

The lexical isogloss in map 17 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Bohta/Ghana/baon* in five regions Multan, Bahawalnager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Bohta*, 2 represents *Ghana* and 3 represents variant *Baon*. The variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra. In Multan mostly People use variant 3. While in Bahawalnager people use variant 2.

Table 19. The score of Punjabi variant Hanji/ AAhoo/ Han which means yes

variants		Majhi dialect		Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect	
		speakers (Lahore)	%age	speaker (Faisalabad	%age	speakers (Khewra)	%age	speakers (Bahawa Inager	%age	speakers (Multan)	%age
Hanji	E	10	66%	5	33%	15	100%	0	Nil	15	100%
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	15	100%
Aahoo	E	5	33%	10	66%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil
Han/Haa	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil

The results reveal that in Majhi dialect educated and non educated respondents both use *Hanji* and *Aahoo* variants while in Doabi dialect mostly educated respondents use *aahoo* and only 33% educated use *Hanji* variant in their conversation. In Potohari dialect mostly respondents use

variant *Hanji*. In Jangli dialect all respondents use *Haan* or *haa*. Respondents from Saraiki dialect use *Hanji* in their daily routine conversation. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variants Aahoo/ Hanji/ Haan

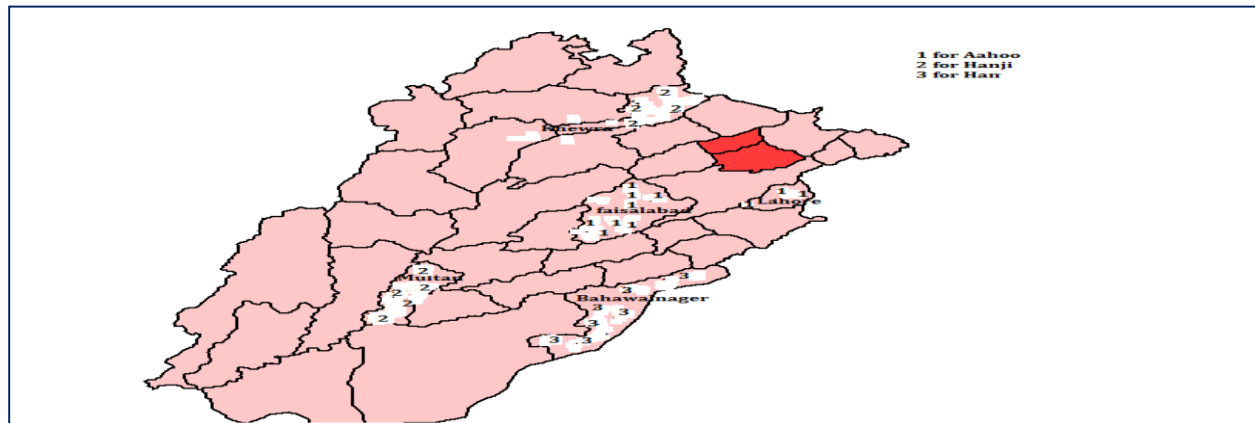


Figure 18. The lexical Isogloss of variants Aahoo/ Hanji/ Han

The lexical isogloss in map 18 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Aaho/Hanji/han* in five regions Multan, Bahawalnager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Aahoo*, 2 represents *Hanji* and 3 represents variant *Han*. The variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore and Faisalabad. In Khewra and Multan variant 2 is extensively used. In Bahawalnager mostly People use variant 3.

Table 20. The score of Punjabi variant Jiwain/ Jidan/ Jaistra which means *like*

variants	Majhi dialect		Doabi dialect		Potohari dialect		Jangli dialect		Saraiki dialect	
	speakers (Lahore)	%age	speakers (Faisalabad)	%age	speakers (Khewra)	%age	speakers (Bahawalnager)	%age	speakers (Multan)	%age
Jiwain	E	15	100%	0	Nil	0	15	100%	15	100%
	N	15	100%	0	Nil	0	15	100%	15	100%
Jidan	E	0	Nil	15	100%	0	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	15	100%	0	0	Nil	0	Nil
Jaistra	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	0	Nil	0	Nil

The results show that respondents from Majhi dialect use variant Jiwain . While in Doabi dialect respondents only use variant Jidan.in potohari dialect respondents only use variant Jaistran. Respondents from Jangli dialect use variant Jiwain . Respondents from Saraiki dialect use variant Jiwain. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$

The geographical distribution of variants Jiwain/Jidan/Jaistra

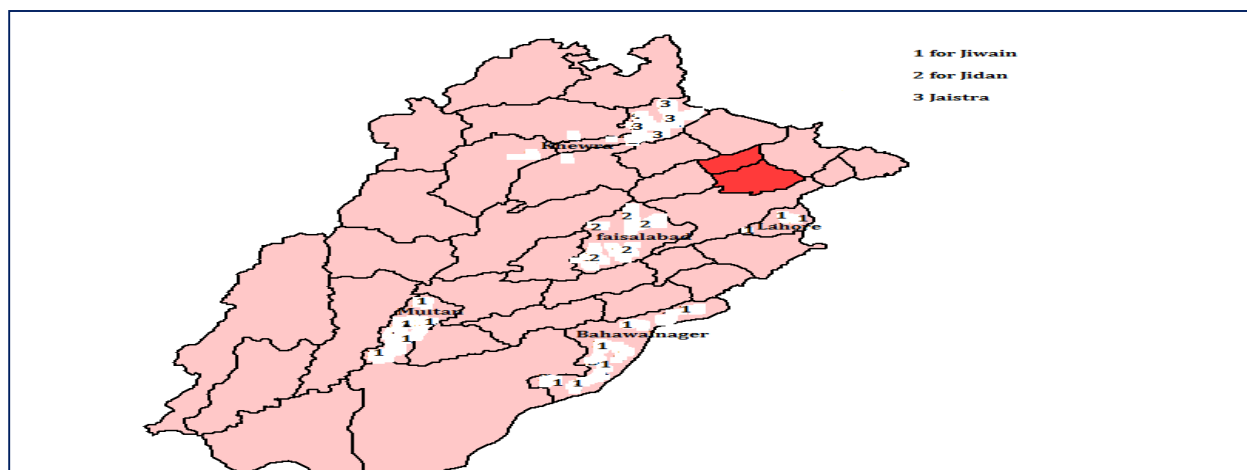


Figure 19. The lexical isogloss for the variants Jiwain/ Jidan/ Jaistra

The lexical isogloss in map 19 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Jiwain/ Jidan/ Jaistra* in association with education, in five regions Multan, Bahawal nager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Jiwain*, 2 represents *Jidan* and 3 represents variant *Jaistra*. The variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore, Bahawalnager and Multan. In Khewra variant 3, while in Faisalabad variant 2 is used by the permanent residents.

Table 21. The score of Punjabi variant Bhawain/ Chahay/ Bhalay which means *whether*

variants		Majhi dialect speakers (Lahore)	%age	Doabi dialect speakers (Faisalabad	%age	Potohari dialect speakers (Khewra)	%age	Jangli dialect speakers (Bahawa lnager	%age	Saraiki dialect speakers (Multan)	%age
Bhawain	E	15	100%	15	100%	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil
	N	15	100%	15	100%	0	nil	15	100%	0	Nil
Chahay	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%	0	Nil	0	Nil
Bhalay	E	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%
	N	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	0	Nil	15	100%

The results reveal that respondents of Majhi and Doabi dialect use variant *Bhawain*. In Potohari dialect mostly educated respondents use *Chahay* .in Jangli dialect respondents use variant *Bhawain* and in Saraiki dialect respondents use variant *Bhalay* in their daily routine

conversation. Sig value is 0.00 which is less than 0.05 indicating that there is significant association between the two variables. The results are presented in the map below.

The geographical distribution of variants Bhawain/Chahay/Bhalay

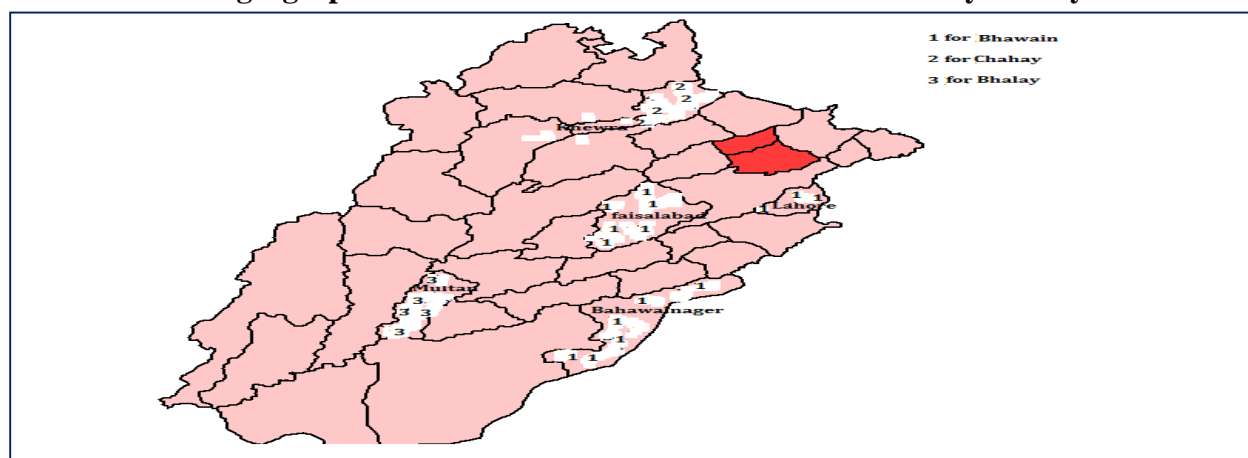


Figure 20. The lexical isogloss of variants Bhawain/ Chahay/ Bhalay

The lexical isogloss in map 20 shows variation of three Punjabi variants *Bhawain/ Chahay/ Bhalay* in association with education, in five regions Multan, Bahawalnager, Lahore, Faisalabad and Khewra in Punjab. 1 represents variant *Bhawain*, 2 represents *Chahay* and 3 represents variant *Bhalay*. The variation among these three variants can be seen in this map. Mostly People use variant 1 in Lahore, Bahawal nager and Faisalabad. In Khewra variant 2, while in Multan variant 3 is used by the permanent residents.

These tables show the results of the lexical variation among five Punjabi dialects for both male and female educated and non-educated respondents. These results have been obtained from the data and from the observation of the linguistic behavior of the Punjabi speakers of Lahore, Faisalabad, Khwera, Bahawal nager, and Multan. The analysis of these ten Punjabi variants suggests that lexical variation occurs between five Punjabi dialects. By looking at present instances of lexical variation, it can be observed that people from different regions use specific variants in specific regions to maintain their identity. By analyzing these variants it can be captured that identity and dialect are interlinked. The presence or absence of these specific variants in five Punjabi dialects leads us to say that region plays an important role in lexical variation. Chambers and Trudgill (2004) say in this context if we travel from place to place we find linguistic differences through which we can differentiate one village from another village. These differences might be larger or smaller. Wardaugh (2015) also points out that regional dialects differentiate the residents of one region from other regions. These results also suggest that lexical variation not only can be noticed in different regions but equally in the male and female residents of these specific regions. The high percentage show that female respondents from every dialect are more likely to use prestigious linguistic forms as compared to male respondents which leads us to assume that females are more conscious about their linguistic

behavior. Milroy (1997) claims that the trend for females to be on the “careful end of the continuum and males on the casual end”.

These tables also show the results of the lexical variation among five Punjabi dialects in association with education. The results reveal that either the respondents of the specific dialects are educated or uneducated they reveal variation in their linguistic behavior. It is also observed that educated respondents are little conscious about the choice of variants while non-educated respondents are more likely to use the same Punjabi variants which they use in their daily routine conversation. The statistical analysis of the data yields the result that association between linguistic variable and social variable (gender and education) is significant.

Our analysis permitted us to conclude that a number of variants are responsible for linguistic variation. Linguistic variation associates with regional affiliation, gender and education. All these factors make up the individual's identity. As Wardaugh (2006) says individuals are not same in their linguistic capabilities. People are different from one another by their gender, religion, age education and ethnicity. Lexical variation among dialects is reinforced by regional, social, political, racial differences. So we must therefore conclude that through lexical variation we can differentiate the resident of one region from other regions. Therefore on the basis of this lexical variation we can suggest regional boundaries between five specific regions of Pakistani Punjab.

Conclusion

Sociolinguistic studies have already discussed that how language varies from one region to another and even person to person, the main concern of this investigation is to examine lexical variation among five Punjabi dialects such as Majhi, Doabi, Potohari, Jangli and Saraiki in Pakistani Punjab.

The findings of this study lead us to discover interesting things concerning these five Punjabi dialects. The results demonstrate that linguistic variables are involved in lexical variation among Punjabi dialects. Respondents from different dialects are heterogeneous in their linguistic behaviors. Many factors are involved in making up the individual's identity such as region, gender, education, social and political back ground and ethnicity. People from different dialects use distinct variants from one another. Moreover female respondents are more likely to use standard linguistic forms in their conversation as compared to male respondents, either educated or uneducated. On the contrary males don't exhibit artificial linguistic behavior except of educated males who are conscious about their choice of variants when they interact with educated community. People have a strong desire to avoid variants which are associated with another speech community (Meyerhoff, 2006).

So we can conclude in Pakistani Punjab people from different regions use different linguistic forms in their daily routine conversation. They adopt specific linguistic behavior just to maintain their identity. Therefore we can draw regional boundaries between different regions of Pakistani Punjab on the basis of lexical variation among Punjabi dialects.

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